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Among the components of the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry all these models of social structure are disappearing. Today it is very rare to find among the members of this phratry marriages between cross cousins, and there have appeared, with this social dislocation, new kinship terms that correspond to the new patterns of marriage and kinship. It would be interesting to see to what point the Yepá Bajuári Majsá phratry varies from the other Tukana phratries, but so far it has been impossible to undertake this work.

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224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
•[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

177 [797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] [797] [584] [601] [595] [178] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

[262] [753] [178]

773 177 [128] [14] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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4: Silva--81 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Chapter III

Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

• 178 361 592 [797] Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there were only malocas (1),

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

563 /65/ 4. Observations -- 1st. As we have just seen, small groups of a nation are found close to or even in the midst of other nations. Natural sociability or the requirements of circumstances relate these human groups to one another. The consequences of these relations are several:

191 The first, one language becoming general, that of the
197 Tukano nation, as an idiom common to several tribes, in such
[177] a way that on the lower Uaupés up to Iauareté almost all the
[178] adult persons (19)

19. This observation dates from 1947, soon after our first excursion to the Uaupés. We verified then, upon entering the area inhabited by the Wanana, that very rarely individuals of this tribe could understand one or another common Tukano phrase. In 1957 a certain number of persons who not only understood the Tukano idiom well, but also used it in conversations among themselves were already encountered in all the povoados from Cururú downward, among the former students of the Mission of Iauareté, or among the adults who had been employed there for some time. In our work on the Tukano language, we noticed the complacency of the young people, who had attended Mission schools, in speaking the Tukano idiom among themselves. We seemed to discover in this complacency only a touch of proudness, as if there were a superiority over their own parents and other elderly persons, and not because it could afford them a means of conversation among companions, exempt from the control of the "old ones."

speak, besides the language of their tribe (20),

20. It is to be noted that it did not lead to the formation of a language, with elements not connected with the others, as has happened in similar conditions, for example, the Sabir (miscellany of Italian, French, Spanish, Greek,

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/footnote 20 cont./ and Arabic), which is heard in the Mediterranean ports.

It is natural that the purity of both the language of the tribe itself and that of the Tukano will suffer. The Taryana language is on the way to disappearing. In Urubucuara in 1954 only two old Ipeca-tapuya knew some words of their own Kumãdene idiom, which we collected and recorded, to wit, the septuagenarian tuxaua Mandú and the almost nonagenarian komú, Martinho, who died in March of 1956.

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also the language of the Tukano tribe.

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Afterwards, a fusion of the customs, with alteration or even elimination of the ancestral customs and adoption (not rarely also with modifications) of the customs of other groups. It is the acculturation that for some centuries, or perhaps decades of centuries, has been taking place in the area of the Uaupés. One notices, because of it, a similarity and almost identity of "modus vivendi" in these human assemblages. Explaining and complicating this ethnic melting pot comes the fact that all these tribes grant, as an inviolable rule of family organization, exogamous marriage, by which the individual must seek as a wife a woman of another tribe.

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Which practices are the original ones of a group? Will they be in their original purity or have they suffered the influx of other groups? Which ones were imported and from which tribe? Was there, by any chance, adaptation in this /66/ importation? These are the first and grave problems faced by the ethnologist who proposes to specify the various layers of each cultural cycle.

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2nd. The problem of the origin of the human groups who populate the New World, as we have already said, is still

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142 144 Black hair, or more commonly dark brown, almost black, straight, shiny, coarse and thick; many times, though, burned by the sun (6).

6. Among the Makú, Íde-masã, Roéra-masã, Yebá-masã, Hanẽrã, Edúrya, and Ba:re-masã, cymotrichous types are common. We could see and photograph some women who exhibited black hair that was fine and cacheados /curled in ringlets/.

178 302 The ones who have attended school wear it in a regular length, combed, and parted on the left side; the others have it cut with scissors with a short fringe on the forehead, behind the ears, and on the neck. Up to a century ago they used to let it grow in long braids (7),

7. A. Russell Wallace wrote in 1850: "The men do not cut the hair, they let it hang in front in a long braid, tying it around with cords, or they let it fall in the middle of the back, often as far as the thighs. The hair of the women falls loosely over the shoulders and is cut with a moderate length" (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 616).

which might reach as far as the thigh. The women, instead, trimmed it a little, perhaps in order not to be inconvenienced in their work. Today the women have it a little below the shoulders, more or less fastened with a ribbon or pin. One sees some children with the hair quite shorn, but growing in breadth, as if it were a lion's mane (8).

8. Hair cut this way, "like a lion's mane," although with a wider zone, that is, about 5 or 6 centimeters, has been seen, likewise, in caboclo children of the Rio Negro. Perhaps the natives have imitated these examples.

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304 They do not practice any deformation of the body (11),

11. Nevertheless the Ouvidor /Auditor/ Francisco Xavier R. de Sampaio, in his "Diário" of the year 1774-5, notices, in No. 318, concerning the river Anauene, tributary of the Rio Negro: "This river is inhabited by the Aruaquí nation, very warlike and anthropophagous, but without any artificial deformity such as those customarily practiced by the nations of the Amazon." And about the Uaupés (No. 381) he says that they pierced the ears and the lower lip. This is confirmed at the end of the eighteenth century by Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, "Noticias Geographicas da Capitania do Rio Negro no grande Rio Amazonas /Geographical Notes on the Capitania of Rio Negro on the great Amazon River/," No. 208), and 50 years later Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, pp. 245 and 634) adds that the Kubeo /Cubeo/ enlarge it more, in such a way that a bottle cork could pass through the orifice of the ear. Perhaps this custom is already being lost. We did not find even one individual with such a large orifice in the ears, and we were able to observe several hundreds of Kubêwãna on the upper Uaupés and on the Querarí. The largest orifice we could observe would measure one centimeter in diameter, and we saw it on a man of the Roéra-masã tribe, residing on the Igarapé Comé-ia, tributary of the river Pirá-paraná.

except for the piercing of the ear lobes, from where they hang the earrings at the dances. Outside of this occasion, in order to keep the orifice open, they introduce a small stick from the ribs of palm trees. Among the men of the new generation, in the povoados assisted by the Salesian Missions, many no longer pierce the lobes.

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4: Silva--249 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Chapter VI

Material Culture

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1. Dwelling, wi'ɾ.

Under the name of material culture (Sachkultur of the German authors), we mean the conjunction of objects that the forest dweller produces for the necessities of life. They are, properly speaking, the material objects in which they manifest their cultural level.

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The tribes that we have studied are not nomads. They have been established in the actual phase in which we found them for several generations or centuries (as far as the record completed by some pieces of information from the first travelers extends) in the same place, from where they move only because of epidemics or fights. The dissident group then goes to build a new house or to start another povoado, ordinarily not very far from the first one, perhaps barely a few kilometers away. Even today malocas that are quite old, half a century perhaps, are admired. Particular circumstances (fire, storm, etc.) might likewise force the construction of a new maloca. The Indian always prefers to make a new house instead of repairing the old one, if it is greatly damaged. Although for the new construction he will often make use of the beams and, more commonly, the straw of the covering, especially if it is still good and he would have to go very far to find new straw. Thus, in dealing with sedentary tribes, it is natural that we find good dwellings. Since it is a zone with frequent and torrential rains, the simple construction of clay is not suitable.

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The system of covering, peóka̱ro, is always that of two slopes and with great inclination, so that the drip of the roof will remain only a meter or a little more above the ground.

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The palm for the covering will vary according to the resources of the region: they generally use the caraná (maurítia flexuósa, Wall.), pɯ̃'sɛ̃, because, besides protecting well from the rains, it lasts for many years. They usually complete the covering starting from the drip.

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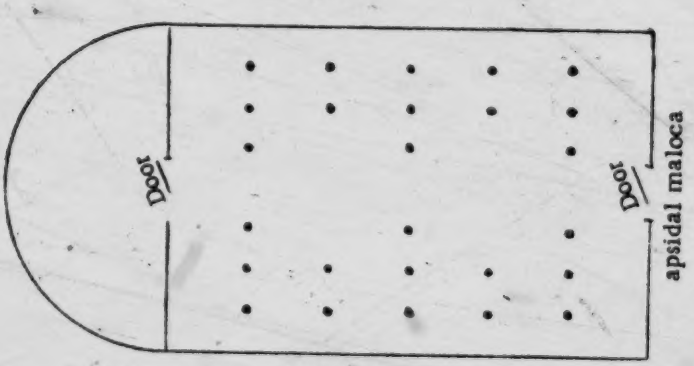
342 *[192] [178] At present all the malocas that are still found in the region of the Uaupés and its tributaries are rectangular. Up to 40 years ago, one saw some with the posterior part of roundish shape, like an apse, called do'ákaro-tirĩ-wy'ĩ (maloca with kitchen) (2).

2. The maloca of the Tuyuka in Pinó-koa-liró on the upper Tiquié, which Koch Grünberg affirmed measured 27x17.80x7.80 meters, was apsidal in this way (Zwei Iahre, 204).



353 *[192] [421] This /174/ apse was separated, in the interior of the maloca, by a partition of matting that was called i'mña-ta'tyá (separation of matting). The family of the tuxaua resided in this apsidal compartment, and the ornaments, musical instruments, and utensils of common use, which constituted the collective property of the group, were kept in it.

177 342 *[192] With the increase in comfort of the Indians and in the instinct of ownership (and up to a certain point it is imitation or even the prompting of the civilized), there appear small houses, wi'ĩ,

/175 cont./

• 178 342 The Tuyuka maloca of the place S. Pedro (upper Tiquié), in the vicinity of the Colombian border, was (in 1947) one of the oldest ones. We have seen similar ones in other tribes (Tukano, Kubẽwãna, Wanãna, Bara, Karapanã, Ide-masã, Hanẽrã, Ihwãna, Roéra, and Baniva). During our visit in 1954 we verified that it had already been abandoned.

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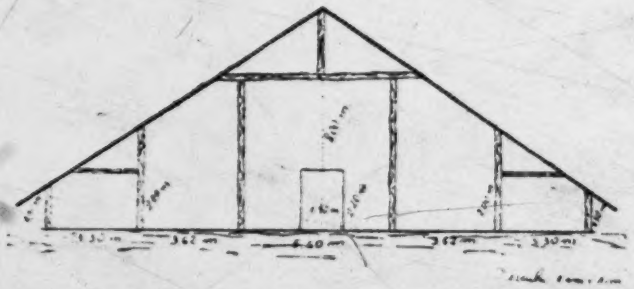

Tuyuka maloca (S. Pedro, river Tiquié)

It was built according to the ancient customs. We shall describe it, then, as a model of this type of construction. It was rectangular, measuring 27.60 meters in length by 18 meters in width. The covering was of two slopes, with a quite pronounced declivity for rapid flow. On the interior it measured 7.30 meters in height up to the ridge, ending at 90 centimeters from the ground, in such a way that the side walls measured only 1.52 meters in height. The caraná roof extended a little farther in the part corresponding to the doors, in order to protect them from the rains.

The main walls followed the classical style, that is, they were made of tree bark up to 2.5 meters of height, and afterwards of assai plaiting. The side walls were of pehé. *[192]

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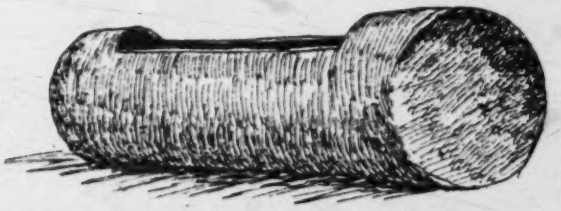
352 With two days of work, a man will prepare his seat.

Due to the instinct of imitation, and also because it is simpler, many Indians have started changing the original design of the seat, using nails to fasten the supports, and these in the number four, like the legs of our stools.

In some native houses we saw four small stakes planted in the ground, and on them a plank fixed to the stakes with nails, or with four holes through which the stakes are fastened.

*192 276 [796] • [178] /188/ 5) Cigar holder. In Tukano it is called utʃ́karo yaxpú or also utʃ́karo seré, or again mõ̃rõ̃ dõ̃xkõ̃ (?) (in Nheengatú emapú). In the dabacurís /religious celebrations/ the use of tobacco in the form of a large cigar, utʃ́karo, about 20 centimeters long is a ritual. Nevertheless, today it is rare to find the primitive cigar holder. It is large, measuring 50 or 60 centimeters, consisting of a three-pronged fork, in the style of the seat, to which the cigar is attached, and a handle, in a point, by which the utʃ́karo is held while being smoked and which is stuck in the ground when it is no longer being used.

*192 273 415 6) Caxirí tub. In Tukano pêru yuxkõ̃-sõ̃ properly speaking means caxirí canoe (in Nheengatú iwá, hence the term ubá, which means canoe). They are tree trunks of up to 50 centimeters in diameter by about two meters in length, whose interior is also hollowed out with help of fire, and with a longitudinal opening almost the length of the trunk. It has a capacity of several hundred liters, and the natives leave the liquid there, covered with banana leaves, to ferment in the shade for the feasts.



Caxiri tub (pêru juxkõ̃-sõ̃)

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*192 285 e) Through contact with the civilized, these plaited products are starting to have new applications. We recall here that on the Amazon they are called panacarica (in Tukano yuxkõ-sõ-mõarõ) and decorrera (moãri kaxsero or simply moãrõ, Uaupés moãnõ). The former is a straight cover for the canoes and small launches and is attached to fixed supports. The latter, on the other hand, of curved shape, is a movable cover and, because of this, small and light, and rests directly on the edges of the canoes. Ordinarily it is the custom to make the decorrera out of palm leaves with quite a tight mesh; whereas the panacarica consists of two superimposed mats, plaited out of cipo and with wide mesh, and between them a layer of palm or arumã leaves.

285 291 f) They also customarily plait out of cipo a hat with a wide brim, up to a meter in diameter, and, as in the panacarica, they combine two hats, and between them, in the manner of buckram, a layer of arumã leaves. Such hats are especially used for protection from the sun in the clearings and on canoe trips, and also from the rain, although they become uncomfortable because of the weight of the water.

*[192] Other plaited products worth mentioning are those that are used in fishing, such as nassas, cacuris, etc., which are mentioned later (cf. VI - 5, a (2)).

e) Weapons.

1) Weapons used as festival ornaments.

*192 • 198 411 a) Tangapema. The sacrificial club, or tanga-pema (in Nheengatú cuidarú or also acanga-pema, that is, head-flattener), in Tukano uxpí-o-phĩ, was formerly a war weapon of the chiefs. Afterwards, as was already observed by Gonçalves Dias ("Relatórios da Presidência da Província do Amazonas," Vol. II, p. 671), it became only a symbol of authority at the festivals and disappeared almost completely. The natives of the present generation only know its name, uxpí-o-phĩ. One of them remembered having seen it with special paintings, "in order to inspire valor and bring luck to the warrior." Others supplied the information that they had heard from the old people, to wit, that before leaving /199/ for

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*192 war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become
• 178 invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they
411 painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover,
[276] they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Jahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called
714 in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very
535 light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and,
*192 up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2)).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrĩ-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3)).

177 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use,
178 and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow
411 and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior
*[192] of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

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291 *[192] •[178] [535] [531] *[192]

of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centimeters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

*192 178 262

a) Mandioca.

The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima) his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

235 /219 cont./
262 birds, such as the jacú, jacamim, mutum, parrot, araras, and others, which become unbelievably tame, is remarkable. They do it, however, simply for amusement, without using the meat (51).

51. Wallace tells (Viagens ao Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 1939 ed., p. 202) that some Indians raised araras because of their plumage. In the place of the removed feather they injected the milky secretion of the toad, and the new feather would grow with a yellow or orange color. Others raised harpy eagles, uira-uaçú (Thrasaétus harpya Lin.), feeding them two chickens a day, in order to use their feathers, and for this reason their ornaments were dear. We do not know whether they still subject the arara to this treatment today. Besides the domesticated araras are found almost solely in the more remote malocas. As for the harpy eagle and the mountain cock (rupícola élegans), nowadays they catch them only when there is hope of selling them to the civilized. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre, 50) also tells that the Káwa-tapúya obtained the orange color of the feathers by injecting pirara /sic/ fat or the secretion from a toad.

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The native woman chews the food for the offspring of these birds, which sometimes are seen taking the food from the very lips of the woman.

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*192 262 e) Tubers and green vegetables.

They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, yaxpĩ (hipomaéa /Ipomoea/ batátas, Lam.), of the cará, fiõmõ (dioscórea alata, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /220/ such as duxtú, kaxpó, and others. They do not know the English potato (solánum tuberósum, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, wexkõ).

*192 252 263 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender leaves of mandioca (see above, maniçóba). Sometimes, too, they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called ki-pũ.

*192 263 • 178 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (mourera fluviátilis), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (Travels, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees inajá and jará (leopoldinia maior and pulchra, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

[797] [439]

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*192 276 [178]

i) Stimulants and narcotics.

1) Tobacco. The planting of tobacco, mõ'rõ (Uaupés mõ'nõ) (nicotiana tabácum), is little and rare nowadays, and it is almost only seen in the povoados and malocas with little or no connection with the civilized. They prepare it in the following way: the men pick the leaves with the stem, reduce all of it to small bits, and put them on the fire in a very hot pot, stirring the contents until they become a dark mass. Afterwards the mass is pressed into small roundish molds. Under the effect of the sun and smoke these loaves of tobacco, mõ'rõ be'tó (Nh. mboti), harden. When they want to prepare the traditional cigar of the feasts, they crumble the tobacco and roll it in thin sheets of tauarí (see VI -- 2, f (5)) or of banana, producing the large cigar, utíkaro, 15 to 20 centimeters in length.

[177] The Indian greatly likes to smoke. The tobacco that is consumed nowadays (on the three rivers whose area we studied), however, is all obtained from the civilized. The latter customarily shows kindness to the adults, men and women, with some cigarettes, or a piece of tobacco in a roll or on a stick, in friendship. The tobacco in a roll is a product that is always sought on the part of the natives as payment for their work.

More infrequent is the inhaling of tobacco, in powder, through the nostrils. They then use two small tubes of taquara or bone, connected at a 45° angle with string and pitch. Introducing the powder into one of the tubes, the Indian places the end at one of the nostrils and the other end in the mouth and, with a puff, forces the powder to go up the nose.

*192 263

2) Pepper. The native consumes pepper, byá, in large doses, almost always as seasoning for the quinhapira.

Ordinarily he has already prepared his seasoning, called byá-uhá-pyosé (that is, pepper in a water infusion), for application to the fish. /228/ It is common today for the Indian, on journeys or even at home, to have a bottle with whole or ground peppers.

/232 cont./

184 276 Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés; it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

> 62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

• [797] [178] The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools, scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic; j)/ Conclusion.

252 The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

> 63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tĩ is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372 * [192] [177] Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/254 cont./

203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

/255/ One of the principal means for these long-distance 202 communications, however, was the Trocano, Twá-tõ, almost *[192] completely gone today, an instrument, moreover, without reli- • 198 gious character and used only for social relations by the tuxáua.

It is a teleresonator consisting of a trunk of hard wood sus- *[192] pended by cipos to four stakes and hollowed by means of a narrow longitudinal cleft. Struck on the edge of the cleft with a wooden mallet, Twá-tõ pá-kõ, with a projection of rubber or of anta hide, it emits a deep sound, which, in the solitude of those forests and with the help of the winds, is heard many kilometers away (5).

5. Koch G. (Z. I. 171) tells that from Cucura-igarapé (one hour by canoe above S. José, river Tiquié) the Desana got in contact with the Tukano of Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, the Povoados) by means of the trocano.

[184] Each tribe or maloca had its instrument and its conventional signals. With this instrument the tuxauas communicated the date and offered invitations for the caxiris. With the trocanos, moreover, they would give information about the retinues that were coming up the rivers (6).

[115] [184]

6. Information by Plácido Rodrigues, descendant of the Baré. Cf. also "Notas sôbre os Trocanos /Notes about the Trocanos/," by Carlos Drummond, Boletim 58 of the Univ. de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I. 393) tells that among

/275 cont./

e) His psychic qualities.

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• [178]

Formerly each maloca or povoado had its xamã /shaman/ and, at times, even more than one. Today there are not so many. He appears to be an Indian like the others, he will have his family, his house, his clearing, like the others, or even an apartment in the common maloca. He participates in the social gatherings: fishing, caxirís, dabacurís (24).

> 24. At times they fail to appear at such gatherings in order not to encounter other pajés. They are craftsmen in the same trade...

He is, however, an individual who must possess a particular temperament and be endowed with special qualities: broader intelligence, a tenacious memory in order to retain the necessary or useful knowledge, knowledge of the plants and of the curing processes, power of suggestion, capacity for autosuggestion, to produce in himself lively emotions, or even nervous crises which will cause contortions and even loss of the senses; and also to stir his patient emotionally with these manifestations.

He must, moreover, show a love of solitude. Some prefer to live in remote huts, farther in the interior of the forest or on the headwaters of the igarapés.

These are the principal qualities which the pajé must exhibit. Such qualities, according to what they think, come to him from a special spirit, which he can pass on to his son. Therefore the latter is the one designated to succeed his father. The office of pajé is not, however, necessarily hereditary, and another person, with suitable qualities, might become established as pajé.

Besides the qualities, adequate preparation, which will last for years, is required. It consists of solitude, fasts, dreams and excitations, and many other practices in order to develop, or even to create, the suggestive qualities. In order to achieve this end, the candidate will place himself under the training of

/278 cont./

g) His influence.

756 The fame of a pajé will depend on favorable events. There are therefore superior or Strong pajés and inferior ones (28).

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28. It is reported to us that at present (1954) there are five pajés regarded as strong on the Tiquié River in the following localities: Uira-poço, S. João, Matapi, Cabari, and Carurú-cachoeira.

In the distant past they were even more famous, because, according to native tradition, they performed extraordinary things. Already in 1900 one of them, the old Taracuá, complained to Stradelli (o.c. p. 595, entry Paié) -- "Today there are no longer pajés, we are all curers." "And there were complaints," explains Stradelli, "from colleague to colleague, because I have always passed as a very good pajé, thanks to the photography, to the microscope, and to the collections of plants, species of Calladiums, which I would make during the time that I spent among the natives on the Uaupés River." The same Stradelli puts forth this idea in his Vocabulário: -- "Pajé is not anyone, only those strong of heart, those who know how to surmount the initiation tests, who have the breath necessary to aspire to be pajé. With less than five breaths there is no pajé who can face with impunity the poisonous snakes; it is necessary to have more than five breaths in order to be able to cure the sicknesses with the simple laying on of hands, and, with the saliva, the bites of the poisonous snakes. The pajés who have from seven breaths upwards clearly read the future, cure at a distance, can change at will into the animal that suits him, become invisible, and transport himself from one place to another with the simple effort of his own will."

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278 /289 cont./

757 g) They state that there are many varieties of the plant
*[192] called Taá-dõxkâ (45),

> 45. It is the perí-pirioca, cyperus piperióca, the root of which has a strong odor and to which are also attributed aphrodisiac virtues.

each with its particular virtue (see further /290/ VII - 4, f (2 b)): one for snake bite; another is used for bellyaches; a third one for rheumatism; the ladies use a fourth one on their legs during their periods.

6) Hygiene.

342 The environment in which the Indian lives and his beliefs about the sicknesses are not of the type to facilitate hygiene.

a) In the maloca.

• [178] [764] We know that before the influence of the civilized, the dead were buried in the maloca itself.

The better made the maloca is, the more enclosed it is, with only two doors and without windows, therefore with little ventilation and little light. The smoke of the fires lighted day and night [164] [354] blackens and preserves the caraná leaves of the ceiling. But if this fire is a necessity for heating, it harms the lungs with its carbonic gas, especially at night and with the doors closed.

From the frequency of the cases, we think that the grippe, Ehõ, and pneumonia are not just the results of the cold of someone who goes out of the maloca at night with the body naked. It is a matter, however, of a true predisposition of the bronchi irritated by the atmosphere of the maloca without airing and supersaturated with carbonic anhydride.

[356] The floor is not beaten, although it is cleaned periodically with a bundle of brushwood for a broom. They do it, however, when the visitor is already inside and has to bear the dust.

/299 cont./

533 [147] [194] is metallic and unpleasant when he speaks, and it is even more metallic in conjunction, when they speak or sing.

2) Songs.

The native likes to sing, although he appears bashful about doing it, outside the feasts, in front of the civilized. He has a repertoire of songs for the ritual dances (religious songs), and others for his amusement (secular songs). The former are always in choir, without solos and in only one voice. The latter are sung by one or more singers simultaneously or alternately, repeating the same theme or not.

a) Religious songs.

They are sung exclusively by the men. They are slow, monotonous, with many repetitions. As for the rhythm, inspiration, and /300/ movement, they can be classified or grouped among the Gregorian compositions. Since the only process of apprenticeship is by hearing and the memory, it follows that the music is preserved more or less faithfully (55); [178]

55. As is verified by watching their feasts in different circumstances and places or among different tribes.

[178] the lyrics, however, have been corrupted. Nowadays in many of these songs there are only sounds without meaning, and the forest dwellers themselves confess that they do not understand the meaning of the articulations that they utter (56).

56. As happens, incidentally, in the popular songs of the civilized. (Cf. also VII-6, a (2) /see a (3)/.)

/311 cont./

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1) Feminine adornment.

Besides the paintings on the face, breasts, and body as decoration (and not as clothing), as they declare, the women own few objects of adornment:

a) Necklaces. They are of different size, shape, and material. They are made from various seeds, especially a tiny nut, threaded on a tucum fiber, the parakẽ-dá; or also little glass beads, [178] the yax'kẽ-dá; or beads obtained from the civilized, the different shapes, sizes, and colors being combined in various ways. They wear them even outside the dances; they are not, however, of general use, and in Wallace's time they were not used at all (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro, p. 630).

b) Bracelets. They are of beads or seeds, like the necklaces, and are called in Tukano, yax'kẽ wã-yãsé.

c) Knee bands (63).

63. Among the Ide-masã of the stream Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, we also saw young men using knee bands. Among the rest of the tribes the men only wear them as ornaments for the dances.

[286] In Nheengatú they are called tapacúra, and in Tukano yuxtá-seri. It is a band of delicate and curious weave, made of caroá fiber, most of the time, colored yellow or red. One is applied on each leg, a little below the knee. In many cases it is woven without any pieces added, and, thus, when, due to the person's growth, it starts to be too tight, they cut it off.

They assert that its purpose is to thicken the legs.

[177] d) Earrings. Nowadays one only sees earrings (in Nheengatú nambí-purá, in Tukano yoxsasé) obtained from the civilized, or, in place of them, small necklaces of glass beads.

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*192 562 • 178 291 e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immédiately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 301 562 f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177] g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'ĩ be'tó or i'ĩ-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

[302] For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178] a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtã bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

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*192 237 534 535

2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 532 764 • [178]

n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

67. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/316 cont./

287 532 764 The process of preparation is like that of the ipadú bags. Once the tururí trunk has been chosen, with the thickness and length desired, they start to beat the bark with a mallet until the ligneous part is eliminated and the liber becomes loose. Afterwards they sew it up with tucum fiber, giving it the shape of a shirt, close up any tears in it, and at shoulder height they fit the sleeves, also of tururí, through which the dancer introduces the arms. On the bottom part the tururí will be slit in a long fringe which covers the legs.

These masks bear varied painting, since, according to the native symbolism, each mask represents an animal. For this same reason each one of them has its name, and from one mask to the other the shape of the upper part (which covers the dancer's head, corresponding to the head of the animal symbolized) also varies.

These funeral masks do not constitute tabooed objects. We have found them kept inside the dwelling in the sight of everyone.

178 532 778 Until the end of the last century, states Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 236), the Taryana wore masks also at the feast of Wãx-tĩ. These, however, like the sacred instrument (cf. above), could not be seen by women and children.

We have, moreover, found masks among the Ide-masã of the Komé-ya (tributary of the river Pirá-paraná) which are not tabooed objects, not even the one called Waxtĩ (cf. above, IV - 2, h), since they are in the sight of everyone, and the children, with all freedom, use it for their games.

4. Religion.

a) Difficulties.

177 771 This subject constitutes one of the most difficult chapters of the ethnography of these tribes. In other points the influence of the civilized is more superficial and soon disappears when the contact with the whites stops and the native returns to the life of the forests. Or it is easily recognizable by the material

/341/

192 535 796 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri; because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] [622] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the paje. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 [628] The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with this proposal. [178] Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

796 /341 cont./

[178] last three or four days are already rare, and commonly they are limited to two days.

If it were called wai poosé, offering of fish, every male guest would bring smoked fish. If it is of pupunha, ã'ɨ̃ poosé,

[192] they must likewise bring this fruit, etc. The most common poosé are those of fish, of beijú (ahũ̃-ga poosé), of pupunha, of inga (mẽrẽ poosé), of manivara /termite queen/ (mexkã̃ poosé).

[273] In the maloca where the dabacurí will be held, more or less three days before, or even earlier (the time necessary for the fermentation), the women busy themselves preparing a large quantity of drink: caxiri of beijú, or cará, of pupunha or of any other fruit /342/ in tubs or vessels that are covered with banana leaves in order to facilitate the fermentation. The activity is great; there is an extraordinary gaiety, loud laughter, a true clamour.

[574] In the morning of the appointed day (the hour will vary according to the distances from which they come), the offerers start arriving, bringing the offerings. They arrive at the landing place (or at a short distance from the maloca, if they come by land) with only some painting or also with some feathers in their ears. Two men go up to the maloca in order to give a warning of their arrival and to fetch the drink. The chief of the maloca sends the drink to the landing place; while they wait for the strangers, they complete the painting.

When they are ready, which always happens around 9 or 10 o'clock (47),

47. Stradelli, in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-português, describing these feasts, says in the entry Tauucurí that the strangers arrive late in the afternoon. It did actually happen this way at two poosé that we attended among the Taryana of Iauareté, one of fish and the other of cunurí. The Tukano Antonio Barreto, however, in describing the dabacurí to us, asserted that on the Tiquié it regularly takes place in

[115]

574 /352/

796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'sĩro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm. [178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to [535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirí is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

796 4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turí
574 (VI 5, a (4a)), lighted, because it is already dark. His companions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijú, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

524 5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
796 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
574 mouth: "uãõ... uãõ... " They enter the maloca, and those who are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

796 /355 cont./

562 Then the doors of the maloca are opened, and the women
858 and children come back to it, and the feast and the ritual banquet take place as was seen above.

785 /356/ Before the dances, the flagellation of the boys who
562 have not participated in the procession proceeds. They beat with
796 a reed or with ingá bark. One of the men takes the child by the legs, another by the arms, and the leader of the dances applies some strokes on his back and belly. They explain that it is to make them grow fast, and for this reason they also stretch the child during the flagellation.

The flagellation of the men will be done without interrupting the dances. Each one, standing up, receives three blows on
*[192] the back and then, as retribution, gives them to his neighbor. The instrument for this flagellation is the adabí, in Tukano wã'sõ-rĩ; it is a stick almost two meters long, but the ligneous part was extracted from its upper end, and it thus became very flexible (66).

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[178]

66. Among the Wanãna and Kubewana the adabis are well made, and because of this they are kept for similar circumstances. In the other tribes nowadays any stick is used for the flagellation. They assured us that sometimes they even omit the flagellation. It seems to us that they might really do so, at least when some civilized is present. The Kubêwana of Ambaíba (river Querarí) showed us how they customarily applied the flagellation. In order for the blows to be more violent, the flagellator swings two or three times before delivering the blow. Some of the ones flagellated, as if they were boasting of their advantage, showed us deep scars from the flagellation that they had endured.

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c) Conclusion: What to think of Wãx-tĩ and of Wá:kõ?

*192 776 In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wãx-tĩ is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wá:kõ is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we [178] were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wá:kõ.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wãx-tĩ maxsã" (Wãx-tĩ people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wãx-tĩ of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsã, fish people (67).

[823] 67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsã.

as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water. 775 There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not. 776 They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wãx-tĩ. 756 And they greatly fear the Wãx-tĩ of the pajés, of inimical persons, 829 and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3)). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wãx-tĩ. [825] They say about a nocturnal bird, called uruká-tutú, due to the *[192] similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of *[192] a deceased civilized person, pexká-sã wẽ'ri Wã̃-tĩ. There are good and bad spirits.

/367 cont./

824 In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child,
*[192] soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the barâ, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 There is a plant called kã'rá pũrí (Uaupés kã'ná pũnĩ), the
843 leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the
*[192] hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of
[515] gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

/383 cont./

291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115] 105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are worn exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

• 178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

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*[192]

/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

302 About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the
291 breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered
302 without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts
834 with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178] It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.
[832] Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/417 cont./

593 his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other
521 through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with
[784] man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor until morning.

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

• 178 595 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively, and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the tuxaua (21),

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

178 /418/
595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

587 22. It seems that there is no possibility of
[115] rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

[178] 23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracuá and Urubucuara.

611 The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

/421 cont./

593 [857] [611] [601] Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side, helping her in the tasks.

/422/ One more proof of a certain equality with the husband, although the children belong to his tribe (27),

> 27. The European custom presents something similar; the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

> 28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

[421] [178] [177] [439] It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is common to see the woman selling to the [illegible]lized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

622 562 The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29),

756 [124]

> 29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

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844 Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have
[608] invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõã (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koã (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

[852] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the
[276] pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

*[192] The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

[115]

844 As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the
• [178] Pax-koã, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45),

[123]

45. The tuxaua of the Íde-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
[273] the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed that everything takes place still today just as it was written by that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native ceremonies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier, have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar. Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to leave in the center, between the front door and the back door, a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

562 /445 cont./
881 without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following men-
*[192] struation, Məhẽka-nĩsé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

611 Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração,
[601] generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (nõx-kãkõra, grandparents) and descendants (marĩ-bero-maxsã), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

602 The components of the same tribe, although born and living
619 in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerẽra (86),
[601]
• [178]

> 86. The term axkawerẽra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

*192 Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree
609 of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpẽra (87),

> 87. Axpẽra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpĩ (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

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2) Local or Territorial Group.

a) Local group.

The natives of the Uaupés demonstrate a great spirit of sociability. Tribes differing in origin and in language live a short distance from each other, connected by the ties of exogamous marriage, the cordiality (93)

> 93. It seems that we can advance this statement, even though knowing that not only individuals bear resentment and harbor desires for vengeance against other individuals, even of their own tribe, but recalling besides that there are groups hostile toward other groups of the same tribe. The vengeances and fights, especially on the occasions of the caxiri, reveal these enmities and aversions that the natives know how to hide under the mask of an external cordiality.

in their social relations, inviting each other reciprocally for the great feasts and maintaining the tradition of generous hospitality. Moreover, there are found today in one and the same povoado individuals or families from another tribe, almost always in order to facilitate the application of exogamy. One and the same tribe, as was seen (Ch. III), is found scattered along the rivers in a vast territory, subdivided into groups that are alternated with those of another tribe.

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Originally each group or Gens lived in a community, in a large dwelling called maloca, Wi'ĩ pahirĩwi, which means great house, collective dwelling. Besides the advantages of an economic nature, this would facilitate defense against animals and human beings.

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With the advance of civilization, security has grown and increased, and, on the other hand, likewise the demands for comfort. For this reason, the primitive malocas have been disappearing and are succeeded by the povoados or groupings of family residences.

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614 Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

• [178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

[594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tĩ, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

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[595] Nevertheless he does not acquire from his position exemption from work or the right to demand tribute or payment in kind or in work from the other components (cf. Note 102 below /see p. 710/) or to have more wives (95).

95. We have already noted the polygamy of other times (VIII-1, a (6)). Still more recently there have been cited cases (information by Pe. João Marchesi) in which, besides their wife, they kept as a concubine some woman who had become widowed. As well as taking a second wife, because "his wife was sick, and he wanted to have children." There is also recalled the case of one, with a healthy wife and two daughters, who took another wife, impelled by the desire to have a male child, "so that his family will not decay with him." As a matter of fact, after the birth of a male child, he sent back its mother. We could not find out whether this attitude was spontaneous or not.

The power of the Wyógõ depends not so much on custom as on his personal influence, and this can come to him from several qualities: oratorical resources, prudence, technical skill, intelligence, knowledge of several languages (Portuguese, Nheengatú, etc.).

•[178] Formerly they were invested with greater power (96).

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96. It seems that the same can be said of a more distant past. The reports of the eighteenth century (Pe. Noronha, Ribeiro Sampaio, Rodrigues Ferreira) show them as principals moving large groups, founding new places at the invitation of the civilized, organizing among themselves defensive and offensive alliances. Hence the interest of the Governadores in having them as allies, granting them the title

4: Silva--704 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Footnote 96 cont./

Principals of the river Içana:

9. The Indian Silverio Antonio of Tunuí.

1851 -- 10. The Indian Alexandre Correia of S. Bento.

They mention names of Tuxauas known, respected, and obeyed, not only in the /462/ respective malocas or povoados, but also in more distant malocas and povoados. For example, still at the beginning of this century, José of Pari-cachoeira (father of Julio and grandfather of Mandú, the present local chief, 1959) among the Tukano, respected and feared on the entire river Tiquié, and Leopoldino of Iauareté among the Taryana.

One understands the need of greater power, the malocas having a large population and being more isolated than they are today. The natural evolution that the tribe follows explains to us the weakening of the power of the Tuxaua. Natives who spend several years at the Mission, where they complete a primary course, learn Portuguese, to read, to write, to count, and a trade, and are guided toward civilization, and the civilized, who are advancing and who many times have direct relations with the Indians, are other such events that start undermining the authority of the native chief. The Chief of the SPI (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/) and the Missionary are hereditary tuxauas, by the very concept that the Indian has of the white.

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The wife of the tuxaua also enjoys a certain primacy and authority among the other women, and at times they call her Wyógo. She has precedence at the social receptions (97)

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97. Even when she receives some civilized visitor, she is the first and sometimes the only woman who comes to provide for his needs.

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614 825 flight, which tends to become lower and lower. When it wants to cross a river, it goes up one of the highest trees on the bank, so they assure us, and from there starts its flight, which little by little loses height, and sometimes, on the rivers that are too wide, they do not manage to reach the other bank. It was observed that the Tukano Indians, seeing a tucano /toucan/ fly over the river Uaupés at one of the widest points, uttered cries, as though of apprehension, in fear that the bird might not succeed in reaching the opposite bank.

They are only traces that at most might lead one to infer an earlier social form of totemic clan, if they are not elements acquired by borrowing (the instinct of imitation of the Indians is so remarkable) from other groups. One does not note, however, any attention (respect, fear, pleasure) toward the animal or plant whose name they bear; names, besides, without economic importance (except the Baniva or another one), contrary to what happens as a rule in connection with the totemic names.

[824]

It has not been noted that they avoid killing it or, on the contrary, try to eat it in some special circumstances. If they find it dead, /476/ no sign of surprise. It is certain that at times they kill it in order to use its feathers in the dance ornaments. But, at least in the present form (112),

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> 112. We so often insist on the idea that these are present customs. This is because it becomes difficult or impossible to verify how they proceeded in other times. And the Indians respond to our questions: -- "It has always been this way."

the ornaments are the same for the various tribes, be they called Tukano, Arara, Tuyuka, Pirá-tapuya, etc. It can even be asserted that their attitude is one of perfect indifference before the animal with their own name, more or less just as before any other animal.

614 619 There are no tucano /toucan/, pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritĩ /dove/, etc. clans, either. They are and they are considered nations or different tribes, each one with its own language and peculiar somatic features. It is true that one and the same tribe is subdivided into groups with names that might seem clanlike (cf. IV-2-a(2) /see a(3)/). But they indeed are not the animals that appear

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412 There are still a few hours of daylight: the man goes to prepare his arrows, to separate the tucum for the fishing nets or to work on his little seat or on his sieve. The woman will weave a new hammock or will attend to the preparation of the mandioca for the following day. Each one at his task.

[177] [296] Among the individuals of the new generation, the man will perhaps mend or wash his own clothes, as the woman does hers. All tasks done with tranquillity, in the intimacy of family life, to the rhythm of an animated conversation, with noisy laughter.

When the sun goes down, the wood is already piled up inside the house and the vessels are filled with water. Men and children * [192] settle down in their hammocks, while the woman is busy boiling the Ñõxkã, with some wild fruit, and all help themselves with their cuias, like evening tea.

The conversation continues more briskly, the episodes of the day are picturesquely narrated, the visitors who appeared, the launches they passed, the news of other malocas. When the night is further advanced, it will perhaps be nine o'clock, the doors of the maloca are lowered. Sleep first conquers the children, later the older ones. Around 11 o'clock or later, however, one will hear a question that comes from a hammock, an ĩĩ and an answer from another hammock. Afterwards the silence is interrupted only by the crackling of so many small fires in each apartment of the large dwelling. The fire never goes out inside the maloca; at any time of the night one may see some figure jump out of a hammock in order to stir up the fire, indispensable for the cooler hours of the dawn, and to scare away snakes or other animals.

• 178 412 With the advance of civilization the phenomenon of acculturation takes place, new tasks occupying the time and the attention of the Indians. The rhythm of daily life, however, is always the same, in the maloca as well as in the povoado, for the Indians who have always lived there as well as for those who have spent long years in the boarding schools and have returned to their homes.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiarí; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way.

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Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain.

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses.

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In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y general*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habókü*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upákü* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along

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the Cuduiarí I met Indians who spoke of the advantages for personal autonomy of smaller residences. The Satellite community of the *Bahúkiwa* subsib was in the process of establishing itself fully in small, square-shaped, individual household residences.

SANITATION

A well-run community, as we have already observed, is clean and orderly. The maloca is swept regularly and is neatly maintained. Except for an accumulation of kitchen debris at the rear of the house, the grounds, including the plaza, the canoe landing, and the path from the canoe landing to the house, are kept orderly and clean. The headman, responsible for the appearance of the community, commands the women to clean up house and grounds in anticipation of visitors. Normally, the women of his household, wife and daughters, sweep the central corridor as well as the kitchen zone at the rear and the front reception area. A headman's wife does not command assistance in general cleaning chores. She requests it and it is most unlikely that a woman asked to help would refuse. When the women take to cleaning they do so with gaiety and vigor, as is appropriate for a collective undertaking.

The Cubeo regard disorder as a sign of low morale, so that a house that has become untidy will surely be restored to order in expectation of company. A large maloca is almost invariably clean if only because it is a firm and effective headman who will have founded a large maloca in the first place. When a guest arrives unexpectedly, the woman who first presents him with the formal offering of boiled capsicum peppers apologizes for the condition of the house. Since there is always some advance notice of a guest's arrival, the women have some time for tidying. Cubeo etiquette is rather demanding that guest and host make the effort to appear at their best when they meet.

Sanitary standards of a Cubeo community are very high. The Indians protect the river from pollution. They dump in it only waste meat such as entrails — but these are immediately devoured by the piranha fish. No one defecates near the river. People go off into the brush, that lies at no great distance from the house. When a child has been toilet trained it, too, will go off to the brush for its excretory functions.

A dump is maintained near the river bank. During the rainy season the household waste products are washed into the river. But at that time the volume of water is high. During the dry season the dump is

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tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hillock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed.

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiarí, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 [251] [417] [614] [237] After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúcteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time, living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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usually accompanied by an unmarried daughter, who is both helper and chaperon, a dog, and her breast baby. Her equipment is a machete (in the past it was a digging stick), a portage basket, and a tray upon which she rests her baby.

With the machete she cuts the long root at the base of a mature manioc plant and then loosens the earth so as to pull out the cluster of tubers. Each root yields an average of six tubers, two of which are large, two medium, and two small. This phase of the work is difficult but the woman moves quickly and silently. She does not sing at her work. Her daughter, assistant and apprentice, tears each tuber from the root, scrapes it clear of earth, and drops it in the basket. When a basket has been filled the woman gathers up the stems of the manioc plant, trims them of their leaves, and stacks the cuttings neatly in small heaps. She burns the leaves to add ash to the soil. She does not replant the cuttings immediately, but allows them to lie for several days. After an accumulation a woman devotes a morning to replanting. She breaks up the soil of the segment she has harvested and forms it into small mounds, into each of which she puts a number of trimmed cuttings, setting them in at a sharp angle. She works segments of garden that are about 25 yards square. After replanting, the earliest harvest will be after half a year, but full maturity takes two years. Each 25-square-yard segment yields from 50 to 60 pounds of manioc, or one basket load.

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Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for whom I have productivity figures, the household of the headman harvested 400 baskets of manioc annually. Another household that had three adult women harvested 500. One old woman had a minimum yield of 150 and all other households averaged close to 200. Ten households produced 2,530 baskets, or some 75 tons of manioc a year. A basket of manioc converts into two large manioc cakes. In the headman's household of seven people three cakes were eaten every two days, leaving a "surplus" of close to 30 per cent for use as chicha and as farinha. On the other hand, households producing 200 baskets annually are close to the subsistence line.

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The point of this digression into production figures has been to show how exigent are the demands upon the woman's labor. The women feel that they cannot afford to interrupt their labors or they will fall behind. Nevertheless, childbirth, illness, ceremonies – women do not garden on the day of a ceremony – and the press of other activities such as accompanying men on prolonged trips for hunting (in the nature of a respite for a woman) take their toll of labor time. Women do not complain of having too much to do. On the contrary, I have heard the grievance that the manioc garden is too small.

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an who has daughters to help her can prepare a surplus of mash that, covered with banana leaves or stored in a circular bark bin, holds over to the next day. Whatever time a woman spares from manioc cake preparation is immediately absorbed by other duties, among them the making of chicha and farinha, which is simply the manioc routine all over again. When a woman prepares manioc for chicha, however, she has the help of her husband, but only at those stages that are totally distinct from manioc cake preparation. The Cubeo tradition is for men to take no part in *áuno* production, once they have made the clearing. Still, men do help their wives in peeling the manioc tuber. Since the knife has begun to supplant the teeth as a peeling implement, men, who are the most expert in handling knives, feel somewhat more free than formerly to help – but not without embarrassment. I once walked into the house and saw the headman sitting amiably beside his wife and peeling manioc with a knife. Were I a proper Cubeo I would have managed to appear as though I had seen nothing. But the sight was so unexpected I stared. The man flushed and dropped the knife and tuber. Then he collected himself and explained that his wife was not well and so he felt he should help her. He assured me, as his wife smiled, that he never did this ordinarily.

Whereas all women share the same general manioc routine, individual circumstances differ. A young married woman with young children has no one to help her and must work very hard in contrast to an older woman with several daughters who can relieve her of much of the work. A woman with many sons and no daughters has a very heavy burden. The men provide her with a very large garden, they eat heavily, they are sociable and plan drinking parties. An old woman living alone prepares her own small manioc cake ration, and worries rather that she can call on no man to enlarge her manioc garden. Yet in all these individual circumstances one observes leveling factors as well. The household with very young children eats less, has less need to entertain, and has smaller trade needs. The household with grown daughters eats more, entertains more – suitors and their parties for example – and has great needs for trade goods, skirts, and ornaments for the girls. The household with many men has greater access to trade goods through their wage labor and saves on farinha. An old woman living alone may eat with her close kin and so devote her manioc production entirely to farinha, if she desires. There are no significant differences in manioc cake consumption. Families differ only in the rather small prestige of owning trade goods and in

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and wife, is based upon complementarity. Complementarity of necessity entails more precisely structured relationships than does a homologous relationship as prevails particularly among brothers, the importance of seniority notwithstanding.

Among the Cubeo, the brother-sister relationship is modeled rather closely upon the husband-wife relationship, particularly in respect to forms of economic reciprocity. Even in sexual respects there appears to be a quasi-conjugal relationship. The conjugal division of labor is that a man clears a garden and his wife cultivates it. He provides fish and game, she provides the staple, manioc. She brings in forest products that can be gathered, such as grubs, ants, wild fruits, and he supplements it further by such extra cultivations as pupunha, sugar cane, squash, gourd, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. She makes pottery and he basketry. Under more modern conditions the women secure trade goods from the whites by bartering farinha, while the men barter their labor in the rubber forest for trade goods. The women acquire, in the main, trade goods for themselves, but will always barter something for a husband, son, or brother. Similarly, a man works primarily for his own wants, such as a muzzle-loading shotgun, but will always take part of his wages in goods for his wife, daughter, or sister.

To carry this account of sexual economic complementarity further, we might add that the women prepare all the regular everyday meals while the men take over the food preparation – with the assistance of the women – for the great events when big game (e.g., tapir) or a spectacular catch of fish has been brought in. In ceremonial life it is the role of the men to astonish the women with the mysteries of the ancestor cult and the role of the women to be astonished. One of the functions of ceremonies that maintain mystery between the sexes is to augment the tension of complementarity.

Sexual complementarity is an aspect of adult status. The young are attached to generalized groups only, the boys in a young male pack that attaches itself only loosely to the adult males, while the little girls are charged with household chores under the direction of their mothers. Adult status is reached by a woman when she has a manioc garden of her own, by a man when a woman is cultivating particularly for him. From this point of view, full adult status is gained only at marriage. The Cubeo brother-sister relationship provides for adult status in advance of marriage and, as we shall see, serves to facilitate marriage and often to protect the stability of marriages. Above all, the brother-sister relationship seems to satisfy a very strong need for particularized relationships.

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832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavimiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion is well understood.

833 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
826 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head
773 upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
• 178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, depilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.
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[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwá*, and armpit hair is *pwá butéi* (literally, hair tobacco).

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cently split a new canoe while spreading it. It was decided to substitute the split canoe. The canoe was cut in half, one end serving as the bottom and the other as the top of the coffin.[5] When the canoe was ready, the headman and three sib elders untied the hammock in which the dead man was lying and brought the corpse, bound in the hammock, to the canoe half that lay alongside the grave. The Cubeo prefer not to handle a corpse, except to caress it as a gesture of grief and affection. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock in the same way in which household effects are wrapped in it for transportation. The corpse lying in the hammock had naturally assumed a moderately flexed position, the knees drawn up and the hands folded across the abdomen. They laid it carefully in the canoe, face down. A woman of the sib brought a gourd dish that had a hole drilled in it and placed it over the old man's head. The dish is for use in the afterlife and the hole is for breathing. A young man brought up the sib's *behórü*, dance staff and pennant of all social ceremonial. He broke it in two and laid the pieces alongside the corpse. From what I had been told about burial practices I had experted that all the personal effects of the old man would be buried with him. When I asked they shrugged and said, "He won't need them." Koch-Grünberg, among the *Hehénewa*, reported, on the other hand, that a man is buried with his dance feathers, which are laid upon his breast. His bow and arrows, fishing gear, and other possessions are burned upon the grave. A woman's trays and dishes are burned and her pots broken up and thrown into the woods. These things must be disposed of, he observed, to prevent the dead from coming back. Presumably burial practices have changed to some degree. When I was among the *Hehénewa* they were not burying a man's ceremonial feathers with him, but used them in the mourning ceremony as a representation of the deceased.

The entire community had gathered to watch the preparations for burial. Men and women wept, except those men who were handling the burial. The widow punctuated the weeping with her own loud wails. The top of the canoe was lashed into place and the canoe was lowered by ropes into the grave by four men. All the men of the sib crowded over the grave and reached into it to touch the canoe, weeping unrestrainedly.

Through all of the first stage of mourning the children had taken

[5] An alternative method of burial is in a large pottery jar. Urn burial is preferred for women and children, who may not have a canoe. In their tales the Cubeo do not mention canoe burial at all. They speak of the body as put in a large urn in a sitting position.

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the origin traditions.

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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In preparing chicha, the manioc is allowed to soften for four days. It is left in the maloca covered with leaves until it has turned a dark green color and has lost much of its moisture. Then it is grated, pounded through a sieve, and put through the tipiti press. The dry lumps are toasted lightly on the manioc oven and stirred into a fine grain. Small manioc cakes are prepared from these grains. The cakes are thoroughly masticated and the saliva-drenched balls are mixed with water. After fermentation has begun, a quantity of sugar cane extract is added, and this mixture is left to ferment for several days. Masticated pupunha mash may be substituted for the manioc. A mixture of pupunha mash with sugar cane extract makes a potent and very laxative drink. Many communities add maize as well as a variety of root plants to a basic manioc mash.

This period of preparation is one in which the house is spruced up and personal possessions and ornaments are inspected, compared, and readied for wear and display. Nowadays women regard their long cloth skirts as gala wear. If it is to be an important drinking party a woman hopes to have a new skirt that she has never worn before. All the elaborate male ornamentation of feather headdresses, necklaces, girdles, and pendants are fetched out and tried on. Musical instruments – Panpipes, long flageolets, whistles – are tuned and repaired. Songs are practiced and dance steps tried out. A nightly respite from the labors of manioc preparation is the amusement of watching the children play at dancing the adult dances, singing the dance songs, tasting the freshly prepared batches of chicha, taking coca, smoking, and listening to the old men chant snatches of the origin traditions. The mood is such that the minor rancors of community life are smoothed out. The headman takes advantage of this mood to bring the Satellites back as permanent residents of the community. The Satellites are normally invited to be cosponsors of a sib affair, bringing a contribution not of manioc but of sugar cane, or pupunha when that fruit is in season. The headman believes that when the estranged sibmates see how happy all are they will want to come back. There is no doubt that a Satellite is strongly drawn to the festive spirit of the main maloca. But he always has the time during the hangover of the morning after to consider whether it is worth returning.

The headman makes the first proposal for a drinking party and discusses the date and its scale with the male household heads. Cosponsorship means that a household head undertakes to prepare a notable amount of chicha that can be shown to the guests. When the invitations go out, the names of the cosponsors are given, and when

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kanáno*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiarí, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupian and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his
727 neighbour. *Malocás* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the
[178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low
[262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave
[482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian
[855] woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some
[857] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of
[226] the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm